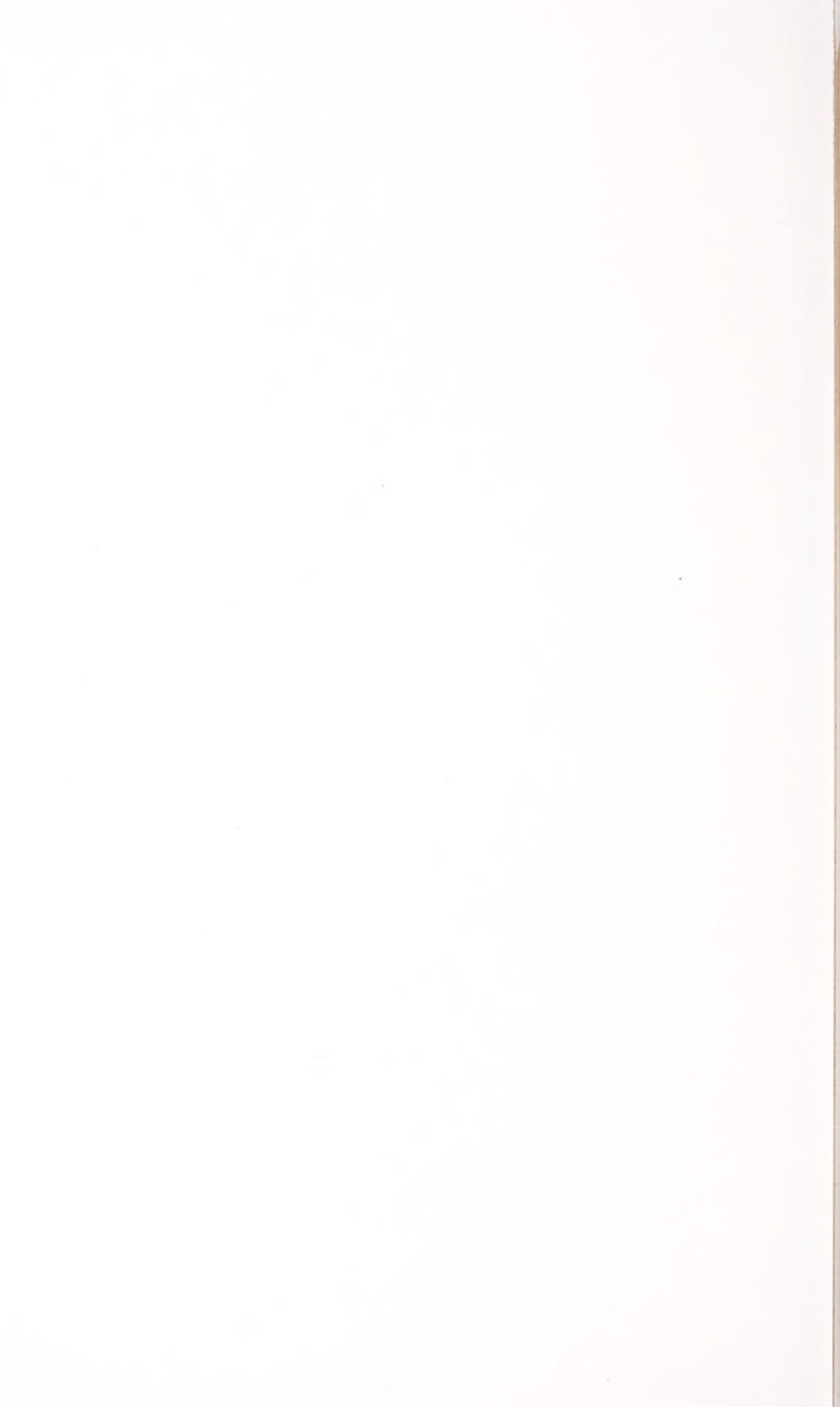


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25-11

REMARKS
OF
JOHN P. HALE, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
ON
THE INCREASE OF THE ARMY.

25-11

In the United States Senate, January 26 and 28, and February 2, 1858.

January 26, 1858, Mr. HALE addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr. President, I beg to make a single inquiry of the chairman of the Committee on Finance. I have not the papers before me, and I desire to inquire from him how much the Department asks for arrears in the military service of the last year in the deficiency bill.

Mr. HUNTER. No estimate has come to me as yet. It has gone to the other House; and I am unable to inform him precisely what is the estimate for deficiencies.

Mr. HALE. I am told, but not officially, and that was the reason why I put the question to the honorable chairman of the Committee on Finance, that it is very nearly seven millions of dollars. The deficiency which the Administration asks for the War Department, for the military service, is, I understand, \$6,700,000. We actually spent \$19,426,000, and they want about seven millions more, making \$26,000,000 for military service last year. I have a little book here, and I find that during the most expensive year of the war with Great Britain, our military expenditures never got up to \$21,000,000, and in the highest year of the Mexican war, when we had, I think, nearly fifty thousand men in the field, they never reached to \$36,000,000; but now, in a time of profound peace, they amount to \$26,000,000.

The honorable Senator from Georgia is a little mistaken in one respect. He says that in these extravagant times the army will cost about a thousand dollars to

a man. They cost that when I first came to Congress, fourteen or fifteen years ago. I took occasion then to look at the total military expenditures of the country, including fortifications, &c., under the military head, and they averaged one thousand dollars a man. Now, we have got up to about fifteen thousand men, and the expenditures are about twenty-six million dollars, making over fifteen hundred dollars for every man in the service. This bill proposes to raise about seven thousand additional men, which will saddle upon this Government a permanent annual increase of expenditure of about twelve million dollars.

The idea that the army will ever go back, and grow smaller, as long as we have money or credit to maintain it, is too absurd to be introduced by a sensible man on this floor. There are no backward tracks, when our Government begins to expend money. You may have a war; it makes no difference how expensive it is; and you may have peace, and your expenditures will go on increasing. We actually spent more money last year, exclusive of any payment for the public debt, than we ever spent in any year from the beginning of the Government up to the last year, by a very considerable amount. The highest expenditures, exclusive of payments of the public debt, during the most expensive year of the war with Mexico, did not come up to \$54,000,000, but last year we spent \$72,000,000. Pass this bill, and next year your expenses, including what you pay, and what you get trusted for, will be over a hundred million

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dollars. I represent a people who are in the habit of working hard for what little money they get, and they are not willing to vote away money unless there is an absolute necessity for it.

What does the President want with this army? Let me read a note that gives definite and official information in regard to some matters about which some remarks have been made. I read from the last Army Register, on the forty-second page :

“ By the act of the 17th of June, 1850, ‘ to increase the rank and file of the army,’ &c., section second, the President is authorized, whenever the exigencies of the service require it, to increase to *seventy-four* the number of privates in any company ‘ serving at the several military posts on the Western frontier, and at remote and distant stations.’ In the table, the minimum or fixed organization is given, viz: *fifty* privates to a company of dragoons, *sixty-four* to a company of light artillery and riflemen, and *forty-two* to the artillery and infantry. Under the authority vested in him, the President has directed that the number of privates be carried up to *seventy-four* in the several companies serving in the peninsula of Florida, and on the islands adjacent to it; in Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, Texas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, and Washington Territories; as well as in those stationed at Forts Snelling and Ripley, on the upper Mississippi; Fort Ridgely, on the Minnesota river; and Fort Arbuckle, on Wild Horse creek. There being *one hundred and eighty-three* companies serving at, or in route to, these distant stations, the authorized increase in the number of privates is five thousand two hundred and twenty-eight, making the ‘ total enlisted ’ (as the troops are now posted, or in route) seventeen thousand and sixty-six, and the ‘ aggregate,’ eighteen thousand one hundred and fifty-one. If *all* the companies belonging to ‘ regiments ’ (one hundred and ninety-eight) were serving at the distant stations described, the additional number of privates allowed would then be five thousand six hundred and sixty-four; thus increasing the ‘ total enlisted ’ to seventeen thousand five hundred and two, and the ‘ aggregate ’ to eighteen thousand five hundred and eighty-seven.”

So, sir, according to this statement, we have now actually an army of eighteen thousand men, or laws in force by which it may be raised to that number. I have been a little laughed at once in the Senate, and I am willing to be laughed at again, for repeating, as the solemn conviction of my understanding, a lesson of wisdom which the fathers of my native State inscribed on the first Constitution they ever wrote, and which, I hope in God, will remain as long as we have a Constitu-

tion—that standing armies are dangerous to liberty. I tell you, sir, that an army of eighteen thousand men, or twenty-five thousand men, as this bill proposes to make it, with the means of transportation with the rapidity of lightning, by means of railroads, from one end of the country to the other, is a force equal to what it would have been in olden times, if we had one or two hundred thousand men. The President can, if he pleases, concentrate them at any point, at any moment, and for any purpose. I do not know how it is, but the law has been so construed that these armies are called, I believe, a *posse*, and under the name of a *posse* he can transport them to any place, for any purpose he chooses. It is a significant fact to my mind, that he has undertaken to use this army at elections. Not long ago, there was a call made to have a portion of his *posse* go to Baltimore, and see that the elections were regularly carried on there. I believe, however, it was not thought prudent for them to go, and they did not go; but he did have a *posse* in the city of Washington, to carry on an election; and no small portion of this force—this *posse*—has been employed and is now being employed to illustrate “ perfect freedom ” and “ popular sovereignty ” in Kansas.

I have an official table before me, by which I find that in the first quarter of 1855, three hundred and twenty-one men were considered sufficient to carry out popular sovereignty in Kansas. The next quarter, they went up to nine hundred and twelve; and the first quarter of 1856, we had got up to one thousand and eighty-six men to carry out popular sovereignty in Kansas, and leave the people thereof “ perfectly free.” Then we come to the first quarter of 1857, and at that time “ perfect freedom ” required a force of one thousand three hundred and forty-two men in Kansas. They so continued until the commencement of the fourth quarter of 1857, which I suppose was about the 1st of October last. About that time, there was an election in Kansas; and the people of Kansas manifested what their ideas were of popular sovereignty and perfect freedom, by putting the President’s forces into a very small minority, and electing a Free State Legislature, and a Free State Delegate to Congress, by an overwhelming majority! and immediately upon that, the

Federal army is raised from one thousand six hundred and seventy-three to two thousand five hundred and sixteen men in Kansas. That is what the President needs this army for—to carry out “popular sovereignty” and “perfect freedom!” I think a force of eighteen thousand men is quite enough to do that; and I think that \$26,000,000, in a time of profound peace, is enough to spend upon an army in this country, particularly as long as we have to borrow the money to do it with. Borrowing money in order to raise men for such a purpose, I am utterly opposed to. I believe that if there is a difficulty in Utah, the army is three times large enough to attend to it.

I am sorry to disagree with a man who is so perfectly competent to express an opinion on these matters as the honorable Senator from Mississippi is, but I differ from him entirely in the view which he presents, that our difficulties are owing to the fact that we have so few soldiers among the Indians. I believe the difficulty is, that we have had any troops among them. I think it has been provoked by the military display which has been made among them, and the conduct of some of the men, either among the volunteers or the regulars, that have been stationed among the Indians. I do not speak without the book, on this subject. Anybody who will read the history of the Oregon and Washington Indian war, given by General Wool, (though I believe, as a matter of private history, the honorable Senator from Mississippi would not regard that as the highest authority,) will see what it is that provokes Indian hostilities on our frontiers. You will see there, according to the account of General Wool, that an Indian chief who came into the American camp with a flag of truce, offering, if any injury had been committed by his people, to make compensation and reparation in cattle or in money, was told that he had better go home and fight. They finally provoked hostilities, and took this chief who came in with a flag of truce, murdered him in the American camp, cut him into pieces, and sent the pieces around to different quarters of the Territory. That is a statement under the hand of General Wool.

Now, sir, I believe that the experiment which was made in olden times with the Indians, by the Quaker Penn, has been

the best and wisest Indian policy which has ever been adopted. If the Indians are treated like men, I will not say with kindness, but with justice, you will be troubled with no Indian war. I am sorry that I do not see in his seat the veteran and honorable and gallant Senator from Texas, [Mr. Houston,] who knows so much in regard to the Indian, and who has so often, in his place on the floor of the Senate, expressed sentiments similar to those which I have here expressed. He has said, in regard to Indian hostilities, that whenever the blame is traced to its foundation and its source, it has been found to be with the whites, and not with the Indians. If we return to a policy of peace and justice to the Indians, that is all that is wanted.

I do not profess to know much about this Mormon war. I will say in the outset, however, that I do not believe in it, nor in the necessity for the tremendous expenditure that is being made. I believe that if commissioners had been sent to precede the army, they would have superseded the necessity for sending the army.

Again, the honorable Senator from Georgia says we have not declared war against the Mormons. Has he forgotten our modern history? He is well versed in ancient history; but has he forgotten our modern history? Did we ever declare war against Mexico? No, sir; but I will tell you what we did declare. We declared that war existed by the act of Mexico. We may declare by and by that war exists by the act of Brigham Young; and if it be repeated as many times in a Presidential message as the other statement was, that war was commenced by the act of Mexico, it will get to be a part of our history; and a man who shall doubt that war was commenced by Brigham Young will be no better than an alien and a heathen.

I shall vote for this amendment, and I shall go for any other amendment that is proposed, which will limit or restrict the number. I shall support the amendment which I understand my honorable friend [Mr. SEWARD] proposes to offer, that these troops shall be limited to the special necessity which calls for them; and when that ceases, they shall cease to exist. I shall go for every amendment that will cut the army down to what the honorable

Senator from Mississippi calls it—a skeleton. I shall want to reduce it to a skeleton, and I shall go against the skeleton after that. I shall go against the whole bill.

The accuracy of the foregoing statement of the military expenses of the last year having been questioned in a city newspaper of the following day, on the 28th of January Mr. HALE again spoke as follows:

Mr. President, with the consent of the Senator from Georgia, who is entitled to the floor, I rise to a statement which I wish to correct. The day before yesterday I stated, in my place, some facts with reference to the expenditures of the army, and the appropriations asked for in the deficiency bill, in these words, as they are reported; and I believe they are reported accurately:

"The deficiency which the Administration asks for the War Department, for the military service, is, I understand, \$6,700,000. We actually spent \$19,426,000, and they want about seven million dollars more, making \$26,000,000 for military service last year."

That is the statement which is quoted in a newspaper printed in this city, called the *Washington Union*, which, I believe, is the organ of the Administration, of the Supreme Court, and of the Lecompton Convention. I do not often notice attacks from such quarters, when they relate to myself personally; but as this relates to a matter connected with the public service, and the accuracy of my statement is questioned, I beg leave to lay two documents before the Senate. The writer goes on to say:

"It is surprising that a member of the august Senate of the United States should consent to commit himself to statements like these—statements disclosing either inexcusable ignorance of the subject in hand, or else a most callous indifference to fact and truth."

Then he follows with about a column of twaddle, which, I suppose, he meant for wit; but I think he will have to explain it to anybody, to get it understood as such. Then he comes to this statement:

"The Senator, therefore, has made the slight mistake of \$5,000,000 in his statement of the aggregate expenses of the army for the year. Instead of \$26,000,000, the charge is \$21,000,000; and of this charge, nearly seven millions are asked to meet the extraordinary exigency of the Utah rebellion."

I hold in my hand, sir, Miscellaneous

Document No. 56 of the Senate, of the Thirty-fourth Congress, third session, in which there is a recapitulation of the appropriations made last year; and in that recapitulation I find this item: "Army, fortifications, and Military Academy, \$19,426,190.41;" the precise sum which I stated the other day, omitting the fractions of dollars and cents. I hold in my hand another document, of which I propose to read a page, and then leave the subject. I now read from Miscellaneous Document No. 22 of the House of Representatives of the present session, entitled, "Deficiencies in Quartermaster's Department:"

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, January 6, 1858.

SIR: As I had occasion to state in my report, dated 21st of November, that large appropriations would be required for deficiencies in the present year, on account of transportation and other army expenditures, made by the laws and regulations through the Quartermaster's department, I have made a thorough investigation of all the business as well as military operations of the department, and have found that, from the vast extent of those operations, the deficiency to be supplied is greater than I had believed it would be at the date of my report.

It is ascertained that a deficiency existed at the close of last year, which has been a charge upon the present year, of about \$1,000,000; in addition to which, the extensive operations against the Cheyennes and other Indian tribes, and the extensive arrangements for the operations in Utah, have exhausted the appropriations for the present year so far, that there is not a sufficient balance in the Treasury to fill the estimates now on my table, for December; and the whole balance in the hands of disbursing officers will not be sufficient for the service for one half of the present month. Appropriations will therefore be required to carry the service through the year, and to make the large outfit for the operations in Utah for the following objects, viz:

| | | |
|---|---------|-----------|
| For regular supplies, including fuel, forage, straw, and stationery | - - - - | \$778,000 |
| Mounts and remounts | - - - - | 252,000 |
| Incidental expenses | - - - - | 190,000 |
| Barracks and quarters | - - - - | 80,000 |
| Army transportation | - - - - | 5,400,000 |

| | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|
| Making | - - - - | 6,700,000 |
|--------|---------|-----------|

deficiencies, and for the service in Utah, taking the army as it is, and limiting the expenditures to operations already determined on, as they have been communicated to me.

Should operations be carried on from the Pacific, or should a larger force be sent from this side, an increase in the appropriation in proportion to the increased force will be required.

I will have all the details ready to submit to you, so soon as they can be fairly copied, which

make the several aggregate amounts above stated to be necessary.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,
your obedient servant, TH. S. JESUP,
Quartermaster General.

Hon. JOHN B. FLOYD,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Having the figures with me, I leave the wit to the editor.

On the 2d of February following, Mr. SEWARD having expressed his purpose to vote for the bill, Mr. HALE again addressed the Senate, as follows :

Mr. President, it is with great reluctance that I throw myself on the indulgence of the Senate for a few moments; for I had hoped not again to feel the necessity of trespassing on the patience of the Senate; but I am impelled by a sense of duty to say a word or two, after the remarks which have fallen from the Senator from New York. He will not deem me unkind, if I say that I have listened with extreme pain and di-appointment and mortification to the speech which he has made—a pain scarcely less than that with which I heard the great statesman of New England, Daniel Webster, some eight years ago, with the ripe honors of nearly three score and ten years, bring himself and his fame and his reputation, and lay them down as an offering at the footstool of the slave power, to find himself used and spurned afterwards. This is no question of detail, no matter of unimportant legislation; but it is a deep, vital, fundamental question, that must divide the people of this country, and must rally the friends of free, independent, and liberal Government on the one side, and the supporters of power on the other.

Sir, the question of increasing the military power has been a question which has divided the friends and the opponents of free government in all times; and the experience of forty centuries speaks to us, in characters of blood, lessons of warning upon this great question. Let me say that the army which this bill proposes is no small, no insignificant, no unimportant force. It will, if completed according to the terms of the bill, be equal to twenty-five thousand men. Give me a President disposed to use that military force, in order to coerce the people of these States to his purposes, and with the command of the Federal Treasury, and with the means

of concentration which our multiplied system of railroads and steamboats furnishes, and he can come like the lightning of heaven at any moment, with this concentrated and tremendous power, upon any State, or upon any portion of the people that he chooses.

I do not desire to go to the Departments; I do not wish to go to the Secretary of War, or to the President, or to anybody else, to tell me what he wants with this army. Here I will do all credit to the distinguished gentleman who has charge of the bill, the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, [Mr. DAVIS.] He tells us it is not for Utah; it is for no pressing emergency; it is for nothing of to-day; it is not to be used to meet the dangers which now environ us, and then to be laid aside; but he wants it for a permanent increase of the standing army of this country. The use to which this standing army is to be put is exemplified by the use which is now made of it in the Territory of Kansas. Two thousand five hundred troops are kept there; and the honorable Senator from New York says he would not vote for an increase, if he thought they would be sent there. Sir, if I may be indulged in quoting a remark of a very illustrious and very distinguished patriot and orator of the Revolution, I would say that I have no light to guide my path except that of experience; and the experience of the past year, the experience of the present moment, tells me to what uses the army is to be put.

Here let me say, that while that most dangerous, that most fallacious, that most monstrous doctrine, which has lately been broached and practiced upon upon by the Executive of this country, that, under the general power to see the laws faithfully executed, he has a right to call out at his will the army and the navy, under the name of a *posse*; while that doctrine is proclaimed and acted upon, it is not a time for me, however it may be for others, to strengthen the hauds of a man who is disposed to use the power conferred for such purposes and on such authority. I deny here, utterly and totally and forever, that he has any such right; and I say that it is a usurpation, a dangerous, an alarming, a fatal one—one that, if it be tolerated by this Government, will bury our liberties beyond the reach of resurrection. No,

sir; we cannot stand it. There is not a crowned head in Europe that would desire a greater power over the standing army of his realm than to make him the guardian to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and under that grant to have power to call in the army to do it. Sir, is it a time for me, is it a time for my friends, is it a time for the distinguished Senator from New York, upon whom the eyes and the hearts of the friends of Liberty have centered and clustered, when such dangerous and fatal and damnable doctrines are proclaimed and practiced upon by the Executive of the United States, to vote seven thousand extra men to him? No, sir; it is not for me, however it may be for others.

The honorable Senator refers to the experience of two years ago, when the Government was brought to a dead lock, and when, he says we were not so strong as we are now. We were not then so strong on this floor as we are now; but we are not so strong now but that our strength is weakness; for we are but a third of this body, with a majority of two thirds against us; and we were stronger then in the House of Representatives than we are to-day, by a very considerable number. What was the result of that dead lock? Why, the President said it was his duty to see that the laws were faithfully executed, and he issued his proclamation immediately, called Congress together, and kept them until they became subservient to his purposes. That is the history of that dead lock, and I do not doubt the President would like such another, with the same result.

In the history of my political life, I have seen a time when I stood solitary and alone, the representative of the views which I entertain. I have looked with joy, with gladness, with gratitude, to the increasing hosts that have rallied around our banner in the free States, until the Democratic party has been stricken down in the large majority of them. I have seen these accretions made to our ranks with gratitude, but I have seen, also, other men coming to our ranks, who might have relieved me from a position which I occupied with reluctance, and that was to be the representative of this party when it was nothing but a sentiment, and when political power was not even among its dreams. But, sir, when a new star is

dawning; when light is beaming in upon us; when one party has been shattered so that its history may be written among the things of the past, and when from its ruins and its wrecks we were building up a new fortress to storm the battlements of the heretofore impregnable Democracy — at such a time as this, it does fill my heart with pain, and my mind with fearful apprehensions, when I see any one upon whom I have looked with the hope that he might lead great hosts to the consummation of their hopes and their wishes, halting upon a question which, in my humble apprehension, is fundamental, vital, and characterizes the whole controversy.

We must come to an issue on this subject. The history of the Republics that have lived and gone down is full of warning on this subject. We are apt to boast of what we are, and of what we have done, and to look back on our history with exultation and pride. Why, sir, we are not yet one hundred years old. The Republic of Rome lived more than six hundred years, strong, conquering the world, and adding new kingdoms to her territory; but she at last fell, and her liberties perished under the insidious policy which converted her into a great military power; until, at last, the imperial crown was set up at auction, and knocked off to the highest bidder from the walls of the Prætorian camp.

I confess that upon this subject I have very deep feelings; for, if the party with which are my hopes and my expectations do not take ground against the increase of the military power of this Government, it will go down, and ought to; and my humble voice, and my humble services, shall be found rallying the people to set the seal of their condemnation upon a party with great professions and high principles, but, in my humble judgment, wanting in the carrying out of those measures which their policy and their principles should dictate.

If I had supposed that I should speak on this subject to-day, I should have referred to an authority, and I should have had the author by me. I was reading, not long ago, an ancient history, in which, speaking of the final destruction of the Roman empire, the author said, that whenever the people began to get turbulent, whenever there began to be danger of the

agrarian law being carried, or any other measure of popular liberty vindicated, it was a favorite policy of the aristocracy to get up a foreign war; "for," said the historian, "in war the State is strong, and factions weak." I believe that it is just exactly that policy which dictated a foreign war whenever public liberty was in danger of being vindicated in ancient Rome, that dictates this Utah war now.

Let me ask, if I must go to that, where is the evidence that the affairs in Utah are more threatening now than they were when Brigham Young was Governor by consent of President Pierce? Are their sentiments any more leprous, or their practices any more abominable, now, than they were then? Not that I know of. I have seen no evidence that their depravity or their principles have made progress since that time, and I am utterly at a loss, if this is an army to go to Utah, to know of any reason or any fact which would justify sending an army to Utah, when there is not, so far as I am advised, any difference in the state of affairs now, from what there was when they were basking in the sunshine of Executive favor.

The state of affairs there, so far as I am advised, is not different now from what it was then.

The honorable Senator from New York—I know he will not misinterpret what I am saying—says that if he errs, it will be a safe error. I should like to make a very small addition there, and let it read "unsafe," and I shall then agree with him entirely. It is an unsafe error. It is an error that I fear cannot be retrieved. For several years past we have been marching in the path of increasing our army; and it is avowed here on this floor, that this bill provides for a permanent increase. I see no backward steps. I am like the cautious animal which, when he was reproached for not going into the sick lion's den to pay his respects to the monarch, said he would have gone in, but, as he looked around to see the tracks, he found that they were all going in, and none coming out. So it is with the increases of the army; all the measures are for increasing and none for decreasing it; they are all one way; and I feel called upon to take my stand here, and say I will not vote another man or another dollar to increase the expenses of the army,

The honorable Senator suggests another thing which, it seems to me, has an infirmity about it which does not often attach to suggestions or arguments that come from his lips. He says we will give them this army, and then we shall have the power over them, because we will not pay them if we are not satisfied with the uses to which they are put; or we can refuse the pay. So we can; but we can refuse the men much easier. The argument is a great deal stronger for refusing the men, than it will be for refusing the pay after you have granted the men. If we are going to exercise that wholesome control over the Executive, which in theory belongs to this body and the body at the other end of the Capitol, here is the place and now is the time to stop.

If things were twice as threatening as the honorable Senator thinks they are in Utah, let me ask you if we have not an army more than four times sufficient for all the emergencies? I have heard it said by those who pretend to know, and who, I think, do know, that five thousand men will be as many as you can possibly use in Utah, even if there shall be a necessity for them, which is not conceded. We have an army now capable of being filled up to eighteen thousand men, and I am told, practically, it is fifteen thousand at this moment. I do not know the necessity of increasing the force beyond that, when they will not want one third of that force to put down the troubles in Utah.

Nor am I disposed to make very great drafts on my confidence in behalf of the manner in which this affair has been managed thus far, from the accounts which I have read, and which purport to be official accounts of the manner in which the force that is now on its way to Utah has been precipitated there. Utterly regardless, if you are to believe the accounts which have come to us, of any single suggestion, not only of military foresight, but of common prudence, you have sent your men there to suffer their beasts to die, and expose them to the inclemencies of the winter, where they are locked up in the mountains. I think half the animals sent out with them died from mere starvation and the effects of cold. If this was a bill to furnish the Executive with prudence and discretion, I would vote liberal appropriations; but it being a bill to increase the

military force at a time when I think the friends of Liberty should be jealous of increasing it; and it being at a time when, if the accounts that we read be true, there has not been such conduct displayed as should entitle them to our confidence, I shall vote against it.

For these and many other reasons, I am utterly opposed to the bill. Opposed as I am to it, I should not have said a word if there was not danger, from the position which the distinguished Senator from New York occupies, and justly occupies, in the public estimation, that the words which fell from his oracular lips might be sup-

posed to compromit or compromise feebler and humbler men who sit at his feet. But for that, I should not have ventured thus openly, before the Senate and the country, to dissent from what he has said; but looking upon it as I do, as a very dangerous error, and one which I am ill prepared to have go out under the sanction of his name unchallenged, I have deemed it my duty, in all the kindness that I entertain for him, and all the profound respect that I feel for him, thus publicly to differ from him on a question which I consider vital and fundamental to the dearest and best interests of the country.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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